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IPSISSIMA VERBA: STRICTURES ON
DR. R. R. MADDEN'S "UNITED IRISHMEN"
& MR. W. J. FITZPATRICK'S "SHAM SQUIRE"
WITH REFERENCE to the NOTICES of MAJOR SIRR;
WITH THE CONCLUSIONS OF RECENT HISTORIANS.

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Box 14

BY
HARRY SIRR, F.R.I.B.A.,
Author of "Sarah Curran's and Robert Emmet's Letters."

"Let us trust that another generation of Irishmen may now arise who will treat history in a different spirit; who will recognise that the first duty of an historian is to tell the simple truth, and to the best of his ability, and as in the sight of God, to graduate honestly the degrees of praise and blame."—*Rt. Hon. W. H. Lecky (Memoir p. 321.)*

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PREFACE.

An enlightened sense of rational historians enables them to arrive at justifiable conclusions which naturally shew that Dr. Madden and Mr. Fitzpatrick would have done prudently in leaving it to others to discharge the function of illuminating posterity on the public services and character of Major Sirr. Both Dr. Madden and Mr. Fitzpatrick offer many testimonies of their successful solicitude to blacken his character, and to them must be ascribed the honour *par excellence* of holding him up as the personification of tyranny and of all that begets hatred while writing sympathetically of the Irish leaders of 1798. Having in view the removal of all misconceptions for which the two books referred to in my title are responsible, I notice misleading particulars which tell strongly against them, and present a necessary outline of the state of affairs in Dublin before the outbreak of the Rebellion, and also deal with Curran's speech on behalf of Hevey. A few words written to me by Mr. Lecky, and the result of Mr. Litton Falkiner's investigations are embodied with the information brought together which should, I think, be serviceable to students of Irish history.

That Major Sirr sternly put down rebellion there is no doubt; the execution of his duty was swift and uncompromising. ~~When~~ the rights or wrongs of the political situation he had nothing to do. He had to maintain the law and order and he did it well and unflinchingly.

Dr. Madden commenced to publish the "Lives of the United Irishmen," in 1842, the second edition was issued in 1858. In the "Sham Squire" (1866), Mr. Fitzpatrick followed up the betrayal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; being of a sensational character, 16,000 copies of the book were sold. The title is borrowed from the *sobriquet* of Higgins who was instrumental in obtaining information of Lord Edward's movements.

17 Sept. 1911. MS.

IPSISSIMA VERBA: STRICTURES ON DR. R. R. MADDEN'S "UNITED IRISHMEN" & MR. W. J. FITZPATRICK'S "SHAM SQUIRE" WITH REFERENCE to the NOTICES of MAJOR SIRR; WITH THE CONCLUSIONS OF RECENT HISTORIANS.

SOME years ago, after the "History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century" was completed, I laid before Mr.

Lecky the reckless charges against Major Sirr persistently put forward by a contributor in a respectable Irish newspaper because, it was explained, they were found in many Irish books.

If intending further contributions in the department of Irish history I hoped that Mr. Lecky might have disposed of the charges (if needful), feeling convinced that neither the Irish administration of Lord Cornwallis nor that of Lord Hardwicke could be convicted of the ineptitude and wilful wickedness implied. Mr. Lecky told me he was not well, nor was he likely even to go again in detail into the history of the Rebellion of '98. What he added, in his letter of July 2nd, 1901, is well worth quoting though the memoir referred to has never been published. "I am very glad to hear you are thinking of publishing a life of Major Sirr. It is quite evident that in the Lord Edward Fitzgerald affair he simply discharged his duty and I shall not be at all

surprised to find that other charges against him (none of which are repeated in my book), are either baseless or grossly exaggerated. He lived in very difficult times and a thick cloud of misrepresentation or positive mendacity hangs over most of those who played a leading part in it." Encouragement to combat misleading statements has since been derived from Mr. MacDonagh who writes in the "Viceroy's Postbag," that Major Sirr was a capable and daring officer, and, in "Notes and Queries," that "he is a personage of evil reputation in the eyes of the majority of the Irish people. In my opinion, as a student of that period of Irish history, that notoriety is undeserved. As chief of the Dublin police, he did no more than his duty in hunting down the revolutionaries." (10s iii. 470. 1905.) Mr. Stephen Gwynn's letter in "The Academy," 18th December, 1909, may be noticed: it refers to an unfortunate mistake I pointed out in his historical romance "Robert Emmet," and 2,000 copies had then been distributed. He commences, "It fills me with regret. I blame myself the more because I reflected that the incident was not consonant with what else I knew of Major Sirr." I gladly acknowledged Mr. Gwynn's *amende honorable*, and he informed me that he inserted slips in all the remaining copies and corrected the text in reprinting. The editor of "The Times" has been equally courteous in elucidating a comment which was open to misconstruction in the review of the official "Guide to the Celtic Antiquities preserved by the Royal Irish Academy," and concerning the Crozier of the Abbots of Clonmacnois formerly in the collection of Major Sirr. It is well to mention this as the able review may have been noted when the subsequent correction has been overlooked in the "Literary Supplement," of April 21st, 1910.

Many of my readers are, doubtless, aware that the Autobiography of Dr. Madden was published in 1891. Evidently he treasured the narrative with which he commences but

which was most needed fifty years earlier in the "United Irishmen," where it would have been better worth recording than un-authenticated tales and generalities which it directly contradicts. "The councils of the rebellion were carried on in the immediate vicinity of my father's abode. On the day of my birth, August 20th, 1798, the house was searched for arms by Major Sirr attended by a company of Yeomanry. After ransacking without interruption the lower part of the house, they were repulsed at the door of my mother's room by her husband—who exposed his life to imminent danger in so doing, and was only rescued from it by the sudden appearance of Major Sirr, who rushed upstairs and prevented the armed marauders from bursting into the apartment saying, 'I know Mr. Edward Madden to be a peaceable citizen,' the few words saved Mrs. Madden, and perhaps her infant, from the consequences of so untimely a visit, and it must, perhaps, be admitted that the Major's courtesy was not duly requited by the latter in his manhood."

Noting Major Sirr's good testimony about Dr. Madden's father, let us turn to the one authenticated narrative in the "Sham Squire." In real contradiction to the spirit in which it is related, this also constitutes a tribute to qualities displayed when mischief was brewing in the very heart of the city of Dublin.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's grandfather had aroused suspicions, and Major Sirr entered the house just as the daughter had torn a national song from her music book. In the confusion of the search which ensued the crushed leaf was picked up "which, had it been suffered to remain in the music book, would never have excited attention." "Major Sirr solemnly put on his spectacles, and read the democratic sentiments," and, "baffled in his hopes, and bitterly chagrined, withdrew." As a matter of fact, Major Sirr never used spectacles; he did not need glasses when he was thirty-three years of age. It was not until quite late in life that he used double rimmed eye-glasses.

Mr. Fitzpatrick repeats the narrative in "Secret Service under Pitt," adding, "No nook was left unexplored, no stone unturned. The intruders even uprooted the flower beds in the garden." It is admitted his grandfather "had popular sympathies, and several patriots, including James Tandy visited his house."

If the dispositions of our authors were as good as their personal testimony all would be well. Their point of view is clear enough, but how far this misleads them will be seen before I shall have done. Mr. Litton Falkiner's notice in the "Dictionary of National Biography," exhibiting the main facts connected with Major Sirr's life, will conveniently prelude some examples of the want of accuracy, judgment, and taste, which have proved the authors to be incompetent guides.

"SIRR, HENRY CHARLES (1764-1841), Irish official, born in Dublin Castle, on 25th November, 1764, was fifth, but eldest surviving son of Major Joseph Sirr (1715-1799), who, on retiring from the army after twenty years' service, was appointed to the post of chief of the Dublin police or town-major in 1761 [see under SHEEHY, NICHOLAS], and served as high sheriff of the county in 1771. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of William Hall, of Skelton Castle, Yorkshire. Sirr entered the army 6th June, 1778, as an ensign in the 68th regiment, which he accompanied in 1782 to Gibraltar. In 1791 he quitted the service, and was engaged as a wine merchant in Dublin, where he lived successively in French Street and at 77 Dame Street. In 1796, upon the formation of yeomanry in Dublin, he volunteered his services and was appointed acting town-major or head of the police, and thenceforward was known as the chief agent of the Castle authorities. In 1798 he was promoted to the position of town-major, and received, in accordance with precedent, a residence in Dublin Castle. He proved very active in the detection of crime (MADDEN, *United Irishmen*, 1st ser.) Sheil calls him 'the Fouché of the Irish Rebellion.' He suc-

cessfully arrested Peter Finnerty [q.v.], the editor of the 'Press,' on 31st October, 1797, and was concerned in almost every important capture during the troubled years from 1798 to the date of Emmet's insurrection. During this period his life was often in serious peril; Madden mentions no fewer than three occasions in 1798 on which he barely escaped the attacks of the United Irishmen. The part Sirr played in the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald on 19th May, 1798, brought him most prominently before the public. In the affray on that occasion Sirr, in coming to the aid of Daniel Frederick Ryan [q.v.], inflicted on Lord Edward the wound of which he is commonly supposed to have died, though the verdict of a coroner's jury found that death resulted from water on the chest. In 1802, in the case of *Hevey v. Sirr*, he was sued for £5,000 damages for false imprisonment, and was held up to execration by Curran, the counsel for the plaintiff; the jury found a verdict against him for £150 and sixpence costs (HOWELL, *State Trials*, xxviii., No. 647). The government paid Sirr's legal expenses. On 25th August, 1803, he was instrumental in the arrest of Robert Emmet [q.v.] and the other insurrectionary leaders. In 1808 Sirr was appointed a police magistrate for the city of Dublin. He continued to discharge his duties as town-major until 1826, when he retired upon full pay, and in consideration of his public services was allowed to retain his official residence in Dublin Castle."

"Sirr devoted his leisure to collecting curiosities and antiquities. His collection, which was of considerable value, was acquired after his death by the Royal Irish Academy. He formed a collection of about five hundred paintings, of which a descriptive catalogue, drawn up by Joseph D'Arcy Sirr and by Mr. George Norman D'Arcy, was privately printed. In 1818 he helped to found the Irish Society for Promoting Scriptural Education in the Irish Language. He died on 7th January 1841 (*Times*, 11th January), and was buried in the graveyard of S. Werburgh's, Dublin, in close proximity to Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Sirr's official position naturally exposed him

to popular abuse, and in the writings of all historians of popular proclivities he has received a bad eminence as the mercenary captain of a villainous army of informers, whom he was accused of drilling in the art of bearing false witness. But he was, as Sir Robert Peel testified in the House of Commons, unswervingly loyal, religious, and humane (23rd May and 26th June, 1823; cf. HANSARD, n.s. ix. 468, 1309). Moore, the biographer of Lord E. Fitzgerald, gives grudging testimony in his 'Diary' to the esteem in which he was held, and a letter in the 'Castlereagh Correspondence' (i. 423), recommending him to the Duke of Portland, proves the value placed upon his services by his employers."

"Sirr intended to destroy all his correspondence; but a number of documents, many of them of considerable historical interest, were found after his death, and presented by his elder son to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, where they now remain."

"In 1791 he married Elizabeth, daughter of James D'Arcy of Hyde Park, Co. Westmeath." Particulars of his family follow; also a bibliography of works consulted, copied at the end of this review.

Turning now to the books referred to in my title it should be borne in mind that the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald is accounted an unforgivable crime. Mr. Lecky, however, tells us the capture, on the 19th May, 1798, was of "transcendent importance" for Lord Edward was to have been the commander of the general rising in Ireland, even the date for which was fixed, the 23rd May.

Throughout the "Sham Squire," as far as page 220, there are many footnotes and references to Gilbert, all of them specifically directed to the well-known "History of Dublin," and it might be supposed by the ordinary reader that the History is still quoted when page 220 is arrived at, in a passage which it will be illuminating to have before us parallel with the adequate information which the History really supplies.

"The remains of the assassin of Lord Edward," writes Mr. Gilbert, 'were deposited in Werburgh's churchyard,' the same mortuary which contains Lord Edward's bones. 'The stone, shaded by a melancholy tree,' he adds, 'does not explicitly state that the town-major of '98 was buried under it, and appears to have been originally placed over the corpse of his father, who preceded him in that office, and was also distinguished by his bad character, a fact unknown to the biographers of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. A more infamous tool than Henry Charles Sirr was probably never employed; the bare relation of his atrocities would far exceed the wildest fiction which ever emanated from the brain of the most morbid romancist.'"—"Sham Squire," p. 220.

Investigation discovers that Mr. Fitzpatrick's quotation is taken from a contribution to a local periodical supplied by Gilbert in the twenty-second year of his age. It may not be amiss to mention a maxim which one of the volumes of the periodical supplies, as it might be adapted with little alteration to suit the case before us "We suppose that in this instance we are bound to follow the rule of law applicable to wills, and must consider the later description as representing the real sentiments of the writer." ("Irish Quarterly Review," 1851, p. 54.) Whatever opinion may be formed of Mr. Gilbert, afterwards Sir John, there can be no room for doubting his wisdom in giving us a dignified history. On the other hand, Mr. Fitzpatrick's want of candour does not entitle him to the full confidence of any class of readers.

"The remains of Henry Charles Sirr, the captor of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, were in 1841, deposited in the eastern corner of this (S. Werburgh's) church yard, under a flag inscribed 'The family burying ground of Major Sirr and Humphry Minchin, 1790.' This stone, which is now broken, is shaded by a melancholy, stunted tree, and appears to have been originally placed over the remains of the late Mr. Sirr's father, who preceded him as Town Major of Dublin."—Gilbert's "History of Dublin," 1854, I. 35.

It is noticeable that after deliberately reviving the expression "assassin of Lord Edward," he proceeds to qualify it in a feeble footnote mentioning "the phrase is not, perhaps, strictly accurate," and quoting a medical man a friend in Dublin. The immediate cause of Lord Edward's death two weeks after capture is, historically speaking, a detail of no importance, but were evidence required, the uncontroversial verdict of a coroner's jury on responsible testimony of four eminent surgeons is discoverable, and is readily found in the "Annual Register" for 1798. Had Lord Edward lived he would have been tried for high treason. He was responsible also for ending the life of Captain Ryan whom he disembowelled, inflicting no less than fourteen severe wounds, while Major Sirr was surrounding the premises with soldiers to prevent possible escape, and also outmanoeuvring Neilson who had, as was afterwards discovered, five hundred followers at hand ready to attempt a rescue. Neilson had been released from prison in the preceding February and broke the condition that he should not associate with any treasonable committee by becoming one of the most active organisers of the conspiracy. A few evenings before Lord Edward's arrest the Major narrowly escaped being wounded while encountering Lord Edward's bodyguard, Mr. Fitzpatrick therefore infers, and afterwards positively asserts (in "Secret Service under Pitt") that he wore a coat of mail, and also quotes in an appendix to the "Sham Squire," an old lady who said she had heard it rumoured that he never went out without a suit of armour under his clothes for dread of his life. This, however, was not his custom. He moved about with surprising freedom: Mr. Fitzpatrick even tells us, "he was so active that some swore he possessed the alleged ornithological property of being in two places at once." The information of the unfaithful United Irishman who betrayed some of Lord Edward's movements was conveyed by letter to government and proved reliable; there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the item mentioning that Lord Edward arrayed himself with

a wig. A correct copy was made for Major Sirr from the original letter which is now supplied by Mr. Lecky. Mr. Fitzpatrick purports to give a transcript. He was not well served by his transcriber, in this case he tells us he was indebted to Dr. Madden, for the reference to the wig is omitted both in the "Sham Squire" and "Secret Service under Pitt." Some of my readers may be inclined to think from the instance adduced that the transcripts of these authors, as well as the sources of information, must be looked upon as a little uncertain. I am tempted to add that in works so prolific in detail as are those of Mr. Fitzpatrick it is curious, but of course insignificant, that one personage is speciously invested with such impedimenta as spectacles and a coat of mail, while something which might have been an encumbrance to another personage is lost sight of though recorded for an obvious reason by one who was in the position to know, in fact, by the "Sham Squire" himself.

At this point a few words may fitly be said of Major Sirr's father. No attempt is anywhere made to indicate plainly what is meant about him in the "Sham Squire quotation." Facts readily ascertained shew that a long life was spent in the service of the Crown, and that he was esteemed and well-known in Dublin. As an ensign in the Royal Regiment of Ireland, and then as lieutenant, Joseph Sirr was quartered in Ireland from about 1742 onwards. Crofton Croker, quoting his opinion that the "Kilruddery Hunt" could not have been the work of Mozeen, mentions that Whitelaw testifies, in 1796, "his worthy old friend" was "intimate with the parties mentioned in the song and particularly with the Earl of Meath." To this Croker adds his own footnote—"Major Sirr went to Ireland in 1757 with the Duke of Bedford. He was then a captain in Sebright's, the 83rd Regiment. Major Sirr was subsequently appointed Town Major of the City of Dublin and Pratique Master of the Port. He was High Sheriff of the County of Dublin and Deputy Judge Advocate General in

Ireland; and Governor of most of the Institutions of the Irish metropolis. He was father of the present well-known Major Sirr of Dublin" ("Popular Songs of Ireland," 1839.). Father Nicholas Sheehy, who was implicated in Whiteboy proceedings, left a tribute to the goodness of Joseph Sirr. The day before his execution, in March, 1766, he wrote, "I beseech the Great Creator that for your benevolence to me He will grant you grace to make such use of your time here that you may see and enjoy Him hereafter." There are several resolutions of the Governors of the Royal Hibernian Military School recording high appreciation of his services; in consequence of failing sight he resigned the Inspectorship in 1784: eventually he became blind. In 1773 and 1774 he was Grand Warden of the Freemasons of Ireland. In 1797, in his eighty-second year, he joined the French Street Protective and Defensive Association, which his son promoted, and his son-in-law, Mr. Humphry Minchin, an active yeomanry officer and magistrate who had been High Sheriff of the city, also joined.

On the 23rd May, 1798, as recorded by Musgrave and also by Gordon, a party of rebels, headed by the lodge-keeper and gardener, entered and plundered the house at Grange in the country outside Dublin while Joseph Sirr was there alone. The wife of the gate-keeper was successful in dissuading another from attempting to murder him and also a female servant, while the rebels were disappointed that Minchin did not return that evening up the avenue which led to the house where, in this expectation, they had posted men to shoot him. "Saunders's News Letter," in the obituary notice, 13th November, 1799, mentions that Joseph Sirr was "a gentleman esteemed by all ranks of people."

A man of understanding, who served twice the office of High Sheriff of his county, Mr. Fitzpatrick's credit could not have suffered by mentioning the testimony of Father Sheehy, a priest, I believe, of his own communion.

It would be very surprising if in such a vast collection

of information as "The Lives of the United Irishmen" brings together there were no mistakes; but that so much which would be informing is ignored in the detailed work of an author claiming to be a competent guide is remarkable. All but a stranger to sources of correct information, Dr. Madden confidently puts forward the substance of an article of a very malicious character which was published a year after Major Sirr's death. It would not be easy to find a more flagrant instance of willingness to advance evil reports exemplifying Mr. Litton Falkiner's quiet charge. "Dr. Madden's persistent attribution to his heroes of impossible perfection of character, and to their opponents of equally unattainable depravity, produces an unenviable repulsion on all fair-minded readers" ("Essays relating to Ireland," p. 119.). On a matter of topographical detail the local magazine Dr. Madden utilized was supposed to be reliable: it proved to be incorrect, and when the notice of "Sirr" in the D.N.B. was revised the reference to the magazine was eliminated. There is every reason why Major Sirr's life should be correctly represented and it is worth while to utilize sufficient materials in his own "Papers" and other records of the time for a brief narrative of the state of affairs, and of his efforts, in the Irish metropolis at the outbreak of the Rebellion. The letters published by Dr. Madden do not by any means exhaust the documentary remains which are preserved with the "Sirr Papers," and the value of the accidental and imperfect collection is marred by the exclusive publication of those only selected by him. It is not my purpose now to select and print letters of citizens shewing that Sirr induced them to respect him by consideration in the discharge of his duties, documents of interest which illustrate his good sense and judgment; nor his memoranda for scouring the country where rebels were lurking, testimonies of capacity and activity. Neither is it my purpose to retell the stories which have been often written of important captures.

The narrative may commence by mentioning that he was

promoted to a lieutenantancy in his regiment in 1780, before proceeding to Gibraltar. When he returned to Dublin in 1791 to be with his father in his declining years he left the service, and founded a wholesale wine merchant's business. He soon became identified with the city as a member of the Guild of Merchants, or Holy Trinity Guild, who elected him to the Common Council at the end of 1793, and he was appointed a governor of the Foundling Hospital and Workhouse. In 1794 and 1795 outrages commenced in Ireland; the outrages became general, and State prosecutions for sedition were instituted against several revolutionary leaders, notably the Rev. William Jackson, an envoy from the French government to the Irish revolutionaries. At the commencement of his trial, in April, 1795, Sirr's name was called on the panel and challenged by the prisoner. Objections on both sides in the end disposed of one half the names. The challenges were scarcely less numerous when James Weldon and Michael Macguire were brought up for trial in December and Sirr's name was again challenged by the accused. Possibly this was a result of outspoken views in the Merchants' Guild, of which two notorious rebel leaders, James Napper Tandy and Oliver Bond, had been members. At all events, the disaffected did not overlook loyal proclivities.

In the middle of the year 1795 the United Irishmen were disseminating their principles so rapidly that a great majority of the Catholic, and a fair proportion of the Protestant population were enrolled among the members by oaths of secrecy. While their secret system of both civil and military organisation commenced to ramify through the country, the French were appealed to for assistance in throwing off the English yoke. The appeals were not made in vain, and it was soon discovered that the French proposed to land an invading force in Ireland.

Dublin was becoming full of rebels and conspirators, there was no proper police and the responsible citizens were naturally alarmed for the general security. The city had also

become a prey to the depredations of thieves and vagabonds who took advantage of the disturbance of general tranquility. In October, 1796, Habeas Corpus was suspended and Government began to arm the yeomanry. Volunteers were organised rapidly in Dublin; forty-nine companies of infantry, one of artillery, and six troops of cavalry were formed. The lawyers, attornies and merchants raised separate corps, the students and senate of Trinity College were under arms, and the city was mapped into divisions which gave distinguishing names to other companies. Sirr offered his services and was appointed to the S. Stephen's Green Infantry. He also gratuitously performed the duties of adjutant in drilling and disciplining the corps, some eight hundred strong.

A little act of kindness at this time on the part of freemen also illustrates Sirr's readiness to co-operate in lending a helping hand. On the assembling of the Commission Grand Jury in November, 1796, he collected donations and released a deserving citizen from the Marshalsea; and after restoring him to a numerous family acted as treasurer of a fund to place him in business again.

His general activity, and his energy in drilling and organising volunteers was noticed in high quarters, where as yet no marked step had been taken to deal with incipient rebellion in the metropolis. The government now called upon him to undertake the duties of an active and confidential office which they created by requisitioning the old appointment of Town Major of the Garrison, and he was appointed acting Town Major in November, 1796.

The year 1797 was a dark one for Britain. Left to contend singly against the power of France, the country was further perturbed by domestic embarrassments. Credit became affected and the Bank of England stopped payment. A mutiny broke out at Spithead, and another and more serious mutiny in the fleet at the Nore. To add to these troubles, Ireland was now on the verge of rebellion. In this deplorable state of national affairs two public meetings were held in Dublin;

as a free merchant, Sirr supported and signed the timely resolutions of which they were the outcome. The first meeting was that of the Merchants, Bankers and Freetraders, who assembled to the number of over 200 for the preservation of the public credit. Their resolutions pledging them to receive Bank of England notes, and to make their payments in like manner, were not only published in the newspapers, but were circulated in handbills throughout the city. The other meeting was convened by the High Sheriff, on a requisition, to consider a petition praying for the removal of His Majesty's ministers. The Sheriff refused to sign the proceedings of the day, as many persons present had tumultuously forced the doors to gain admittance, and were neither freemen nor freeholders. But the freemen adjourned, and having resolved that the proceedings in support of the petition could not be considered as the sense of the city, they signed a declaration to this effect for publication in the newspapers as a re-assuring counterblast.

When general depression settled down on the citizens, their interest and activity were re-awakened by the distress around them. Slackness of work, and the closing of several manufactories had impoverished many breadwinners, and the misery of famine followed. In combating this, Mr. Swan, a magistrate, helped the civic body to distribute loaves of bread. Parochial relief funds also, started with the co-operation of the Roman Catholic clergy, were applied to mitigate the sufferings; and in S. Werburgh's parish alone throughout three months, 450 persons were fed with bread and broth three times a week.

The disaffected began to look upon Sirr with considerable awe. He commenced and continued to the ending of the rebellion what to them was a very vexatious practice. By patrolling the city, and its environs both night and day, he discovered, entirely without previous information, a number of committees sitting in conclave besides gangs of robbers who were apprehended and taken in arms. Caves, outhouses, huts, and even open fields were vigorously searched by his directions.

Quantities of pikes and other weapons were unearthed, secreted for the purpose of clandestine drilling, and ready for arming when the signal for an outbreak should be given. Later on some pieces of cannon even were found. The male inhabitants of French Street did not mean to be caught napping. They attended a meeting which Sirr convened on 4th January, 1797, and formed themselves into a protective and defensive association. Forty-one residents were enrolled and the following resolutions passed. "We whose names are hereto subscribed unanimously resolved that we who are authorised by law to carry arms do pledge ourselves to each other upon the first appearance of any alarm or tumult to turn out armed, assemble in the street, and act under the command of Colonel Mangin for our mutual protection and to defend our homes and property but not to go beyond the street. Resolved unanimously, that such persons as chuse may carry a musquet and bayonet, and others a sabre and pistol: that we distinguish ourselves by a red cape to the coat and a buff shoulder belt." With a well considered set of rules appended, the resolutions were forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant who expressed approbation.

The streets, however, were well patrolled and turbulent fellows who congregated were dispersed, but sometimes they were almost equal to the occasion and patrolling parties were unable to avoid a scuffle. The butchers were a particularly obstreperous set, a body of whom, in the spring of 1797, was routed by a company of soldiers commanded by Sirr, but not until there had been a serious affray. In spite of this inquietude the determination of the authorities had a marked effect and "the loyalty and the spirit of the city remained unshaken." (Pelham Papers. Letter to the Duke of York, 4th January, 1797.)

The silencing of formidable loyalists, as a precursor of open insurrection, was an object which the disaffected had in view, and it happened mercifully for those men who were implicated in such conspiracies that Major Sirr took common-sense precautions to quench secret meetings, and to extirpate illicit armouries. He scrutinised not only thoroughfares, but the

holes and corners of alleys and lanes—the unfrequented neighbourhoods which conspirators were most likely to favour. One of his discoveries, by which the surprise of Trinity College and the destruction of the students was averted, is mentioned by Maxwell, a chronicler of Sirr's "wickednesses." A college porter was mainly concerned in the plot to admit a picked band of desperate fellows armed with pikes prepared for indoor work with short handles. They were to have been admitted through a postern door connected with blind alleys and unfrequented lanes; and the students would have been victims of a sudden onslaught and completely in the power of their assailants. Nearly 200 of the pikes were found neatly packed in an excavation in a cowhouse, concealed by a covering of six inches of clay below the hay which was laid for the cows.

He discovered and prevented plans of procession under pretence of funerals by which the disaffected hoped to overawe government. One assembling actually took place on the evening of 30th April, 1797, and the crowds of persons who attended were so multitudinous that a considerable detachment of military was ordered out with directions to disperse them. In consequence the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation interdicting such assemblages, for these tests of their forces on the part of the disaffected were exceedingly ominous.

The disaffected were materially aided by spies dressed in uniforms of the navy, army, militia and yeomanry, and the Adjutant-General issued a warning. The writings of Paine were extensively circulated, and appealed to people who were unable to reason about safeguarding the welfare of the country at large, at this period of Great Britain's greatest danger in connection with European affairs. Conscious of uncertainty in the air all classes became infected with the spirit of distrust and suspicion and it reigned among them in every neighbourhood when Whitelaw commenced his statistical survey of the city in May, 1798.

My readers have now before them an attempt to put fairly

in a correct setting Major Sirr's position at the outbreak of the Rebellion, avowedly ignored in the "authority" copied by Dr. Madden, whose *resumé* inspired Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Maxwell and others. The subsequent state of affairs is faithfully and strikingly told by Mr. Lecky, and Sirr's activity, and the captures he made, are matters of history. The Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant, in acknowledgment of his services recommended him to the Prime Minister; Lord Castlereagh, Chief Secretary seconded the recommendation; the copies of documents which follow shew that at the end of the year he became full Town Major, having already served as a commissioned army officer for thirteen or fourteen years independent of two years as Acting Town Major. They also prove Dr. Madden's "authority" to be incorrect inasmuch as the office was not a "corporate situation," neither was it bestowed by the influence he mentions.

Lord Castlereagh (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant) to Mr. Wickham (Under Secretary to the Duke of Portland, Prime Minister).

DUBLIN CASTLE,

Secret.] *November 3rd, 1798.*

SIR, I understand from Captain Taylor that Lord Cornwallis has been pleased to recommend an arrangement in favour of Major Sirr, highly advantageous to his interest. The services Major Sirr has rendered to the King's government, since I have been in office, are such as to make me feel it an incumbent duty to bear testimony, in the strongest terms, to his merits.

From the want of any efficient system of police in this city, he has been constantly employed by Government, on every occasion which called for great personal exertions, discretion and courage; his life has frequently been exposed, particularly in the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I can truly state that, during the most trying period of public danger, the metropolis was peculiarly indebted for its tranquillity to the

unceasing activity of Major Sirr, assisted by Mr. Swan, who so nearly lost his life in that same struggle, which proved fatal to Mr. Ryan, and in which Major Sirr was exposed to very imminent danger.

Permit me to request that you will communicate the above to the Duke of Portland, and assure his Grace that the King has not a more faithful officer than Major Sirr in his service.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

CASTLEREAGH.

Commission Book, Public Record Office, Ireland.

WHITEHALL,

29th November, 1798.

His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant.

MY LORD,

Having laid before the King your Excellency's letter of the 10th instant enclosing a list of successions, which you propose for the army in Ireland, I am Commanded to acquaint your Excellency that his Majesty is graciously pleased to approve of all of them except as to the appointment of Town Major of Dublin, which it would be highly objectionable to have sold, but his Majesty has been pleased to say that a Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the Irish Establishment or a troop of Cavalry may hereafter be sold to reimburse the present Town Major, and that Major Sirr shall be now appointed to that situation without purchase. The necessary Commissions will be immediately prepared for the Royal Signature and transmitted to your Excellency in the usual manner.

I am, etc.,

PORTLAND.

Sirr lodged Three Thousand Guineas for the Commission (the pay of Town Major then being less than subsequently). He was gazetted to a majority of Dragoons, the purchase of the Town Majority effected by the sale of that Commission and the Town Majority unexpectedly presented to him.

Entry Book Military Commissions, 1796—1806, p. 75.
Record Tower Collection, Dublin.

Henry Chas. Sirr, Esq., Town Major of the Garrison
of Dublin.

GEORGE R.

George the third by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, etc. To our Trusty and well beloved Henry Charles Sirr, Esq Greeting We do by these Presents constitute and appoint you to be Town Major of the Garrison of Dublin in our Kingdom of Ireland in the room of Gustavus Nicholls Esq. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Town Major by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from time to time as you shall receive from us, our Chief Governor or Governors of our said Kingdom for the Time being, or any other your superior Officer, according to the rules and Discipline of War. Given at our Court at S. James's, the tenth day of November, 1798, In the Thirty ninth Year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command,

PORTLAND.

Dr. Madden's acceptance of the reported rhetoric used in a court of law against Major Sirr by the legal defender of the United Irishmen is an implied proof that he regards Curran as an authority no one should venture to question. He considers it needless to obtrude the facts of a State Trial; Curran satisfies him to the full. Yet the fortuitous experience of the advocate in private life is unreconcilable with the traditional prejudice of his political leanings, and Dr. Madden steers clear of him when Robert Emmet the revolutionary comes to be discoursed upon. A note in Major Sirr's "Papers" is skilfully utilized to express all he wants to say concerning the correspondence between Sarah Curran and Emmet. Little do Dr. Madden's readers suspect the full light which the note throws upon Curran's changed

tone, and they are not helped to a discovery by any reference whatever to the "Sirr Papers."

Curran's speech in the action of Hevey *v.* Sirr has been frequently printed in the "Speeches of Curran." It is kept alive and quoted as trustworthy in the "Sham Squire," and particularly in the "United Irishmen," but the evidence and summing-up necessary to make the aspect of the case clearly apparent are withheld. Supposing it were fair to make this use of the speech it should be known that even "on the bench Curran was never at home. He could neither grasp the practice nor the principles of equity" (D.N.B.). But in this action Curran was leading counsel for the plaintiff, and the judge was Lord Kilwarden. Curran alleged that the arrest in 1801, which led to this action in 1802, was vindictively brought about by Major Sirr. Lord Kilwarden summed up. "If any evidence occurred to support the part of Mr. Curran's statement, which was that the defendant was instigated by a malicious and vindictive spirit (in consequence of the depositions which the plaintiff made to discredit the oath of McCann on the trial of Macguire), his lordship asserted that as to the quantum of damages he would no more hesitate at £5,000, at which they were laid, than he would at 5d. But as no attempt even had been made to support that allegation by any species of evidence, the jury must avoid taking the principle imputed to Major Sirr into account, and examine into motives as well as facts, by a fair deduction from testimony alone." He also thought, as far as the evidence went, the imprisonment arose from momentary irritation and that Hevey should have been liberated as soon as emotions had subsided. Nor did the evidence bear out Curran's contention that "Sirr rushed upon him (Hevey) in the coffee room and assisted by three or four satellites who had attended him in disguise secured him and sent him to the Castle guard desiring that a receipt might be given for the villain." Hevey's witness affirmed Sirr arrested him and they walked arm in arm together. With this the evidence for the defence

was in harmony and categorically contradicted an allegation that Hevey was handcuffed. The hypothesis that the incident was deliberately brought about by Major Sirr could only be met by the assumption that there were strong grounds for detaining Hevey, and that the Major could not be technically cleared without revealing the name of an informer, "who by special agreement was never to be called to give public evidence" ("Secret Service under Pitt," p. 153, footnote). Clearly Major Sirr was responsible and answerable to government. Lord Hardwicke's administration knew the full facts, they undertook the defence and paid the fine and expenses. Twelve months afterwards Curran expresses confidence in Lord Hardwicke, and offers to his Excellency, 21st September, 1803, "his strongest attachment and respect." ("Hardwicke Papers".) Brougham (to whom the "United Irishmen" is dedicated) twenty years later condemned the then government on the strength of Curran's *ipse dixit* for retaining Major Sirr's services. Sir Robert Peel promptly and politely replied, "As to Major Sirr, he did not think it quite fair to cast reflections on that gentleman, and rely as an authority on the speech of Mr. Curran. If the case against Major Sirr had been so strong, why did not Mr. Ponsonby and the Duke of Bedford remove him from the Commission of the Peace? He asked this, not as intending any imputation against the Duke of Bedford, or Mr. Ponsonby, for not so acting, but as the strongest possible inference that the trial did not produce such damning proofs against Major Sirr as had been supposed. In the whole of the six years during which he (Peel) had been acquainted with Major Sirr, he never knew a milder man, nor one less disposed to exert authority unduly" (Hansard). It must be explained that a few years after the trial there was a change of government and the Whigs brought in the Duke of Bedford as Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Ponsonby as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, under a pledge to investigate the magistracy of Ireland, and they did so. They also promoted Curran to the bench.

Hevey had been imprisoned two days and a half. Curran's son in the "Life of Curran," remarks, "Despite the favourable verdict Hevey was ruined. The long imprisonment made him bankrupt. Poverty and sorrow broke his mind (said Davis) and he died a pauper lunatic shortly afterwards," i.e., after 17th May, 1802, the date of the trial. This is practically repeated by Madden, though he states, in 1858, that Hevey "died a few years ago." To put it plainly neither of these chroniclers is correct. Hevey was living, a pensioner on Major Sirr's bounty, in 1823, when Peel spoke in the House of Commons, and he died a few weeks afterwards. The "long imprisonment" of two days and a half in 1801, could not have made him bankrupt. He had been in prison previously at Kilkeny, in 1798, and sentenced to death by court-martial but Lord Cornwallis pardoned him. Hevey and Major Sirr were not called at the trial in 1802. A paragraph in the "State Trials" records, "Mr. Hevey was at this time confined in Newgate, under sentence of the City Quarter Sessions, for a month's imprisonment for having assaulted a Mr. Labertouche." The publication for partisan motives of the speech of Curran, who was in direct opposition to the government and leading counsel against Major Sirr, was an ingenious method of triumphing, giving increased importance and currency to allegations which could only have emanated from ignorant and malicious persons. An early volume of the "Dictionary of National Biography" dealing with Curran refers to this speech as the outcome of an action against Major Sirr for "gross brutality." The action was nothing of the kind. The re-issue of the "Dictionary" makes it clear that gross brutality was merely *alleged* by Curran. His twistings of style, and the fact that Major Sirr was well-known as "the Major," are not helpful in reading the speech, much of which refers to the supposed shortcomings of another major. "Why," said counsel, "was this action not brought against (Major) Sandys, and not made a charge to increase the damages against Sirr?"

Whether it was from entirely sincere conviction, or only

from ability to accommodate himself to circumstances, Curran held up Major Sirr as a miscreant. Though he did not attempt to prove the numerous allegations which he brought against him, at least he made a strong rhetorical effort to discredit government. Only one year afterwards, he as readily denounces Emmet, the "miscreant," whose "infamy" is alluded to in his letter of 21st September, 1803, to Mr. Under-Secretary Marsden. The fact is, he now speaks from experience. We see in the "Viceroy's Postbag" the tenderness Major Sirr shewed to his daughter, Sarah, when he went to arrest her in consequence of the discovery of incriminating correspondence with Emmet to whom she was secretly engaged. Then, McNally, Curran's intimate friend, tells government "Curran was cruelly agitated at the visit to his house, but speaks of the manner of doing it in very handsome terms," while another close friend, Phillips, relates that Curran told him, "Major Sirr rode up to me lamenting with much courtesy the occasion of our meeting." Major Sirr was consistent and his discretion and consideration tally with the narrative of 1798, in Madden's auto-biography. It was the demeanour of Curran which underwent a change. Not altogether inexplicable (see "Sarah Curran's and Robert Emmet's Letters," by present writer), his treatment of his daughter, a misguided and hysterical young woman, betrayed something of his character; it was that of a deeply injured, but very selfish and unrelenting man. He banished her from his home, refused to see her again, and disregarded her dying wish. ("Life of Robert Emmet," by D. J. O'Donoghue.)

With facts before them, my readers will see something distinctly objectionable in the misuse of a mendacious speech of an adverse Counsel. Dr. Madden, however, has made it clear that Hevey's friends who prompted the action neglected him in after years. As it is necessary to tell the truth fully it must be stated that Major Sirr's care of Hevey was in keeping with his principles. ("His private acts of benevolence were

both numerous and unostentatious," obituary notice, "Saunders's News Letter," January 8th, 1841. "The local charities will lose by his death one of the most unostentatious and benevolent contributors."—"Morning Post," January 11th, 1841.).

I think it will be conceded that the following version of Lord Kilwarden's last few words from a private letter written by a brother judge, Baron Smith, of the Irish Court of Exchequer, to a friend in England, and preserved with the "Pelham Papers," is likely to be accurate. So far as I discover it has never been published. "Have you heard any particulars of poor Lord Kilwarden's last moments? You may rely upon the authenticity of the few that follow; Major Swan addressed him as he lay mangled in the watch-house—'My dear lord, I am heartily grieved to see you in this situation do you know me?' Lord Kilwarden, faintly and with difficulty:—'Swan.' The other then added—'It will give you consolation to know that your daughter is perfectly safe.'—Lord Kilwarden:—'Where is she?' Answer:—'In the Castle.'—Lord Kilwarden: 'I thank God.' Just then a person came in and said to Swan in Lord Kilwarden's hearing,—'We have taken four of the villains; what is to be done with them?' Swan: 'Executed immediately.' Lord Kilwarden (stretching out his hand with effort and difficulty): 'Oh, no, Swan; let the poor wretches at least have a fair trial'—and almost instantly he expired."

It was on the night of the 23rd July, 1803, that he was dragged from his carriage and piked by Emmet's mob, and "The Annual Register" records, in agreement with the account in the "Castlereagh Correspondence," (iv. 277.), that "he was carried to the nearest watch-house, where he received such accommodation as that wretched place could afford. In this pitiable situation he breathed his last having survived his carrying in thither about half an hour." But Mr. Fitzpatrick states, "He died about eleven o'clock the next morning. Mr. Downing, the gardener, went to see his lordship, and he heard Major Sirr say he would hang a man for every hair on his

head; to which his lordship replied: 'Let no man suffer in consequence of my death, unless by the regular operation of the laws.' This was said about eight o'clock on Sunday morning, while he lay on a guard bed in Vicar Street." Mr. Fitzpatrick's version, it will be noticed, agrees neither with the "Annual Register" nor the "Castlereagh Correspondence," nor does it tally with Baron Smith's carefully preserved contemporary narration which makes no mention of Major Sirr, while the Assistant Town Major, Swan, is referred to throughout.

The account in the "Castlereagh Correspondence" derived from the official reports by Mr. Marsden, attributes some remissness to "the civil authorities for not calling the soldiery of the city into action on the very first symptom of the disturbance, of which it is admitted they were forewarned; and to the military for not dispatching the troops in the barracks till some hours after they were sent for." It was Major Sirr's activity that saved the castle from surprise, and the memorandum with his "Papers," in an unidentified hand puts on record: "The government had frequent information given them of that insurrection of 23rd July, 1803, and on that day they paid no attention to it. Major Sirr, and Edward Wilson, the Chief Constable, were the only two official persons that were *au fait*. This accounts for the great attention since paid by government to the most trifling information threatening disturbance." Baron Smith's letter previously quoted mentions "I was under arms and on foot from nine on Saturday night (23rd July) to seven on yesterday morning, and again from three yesterday afternoon until half-past four this morning. . . . I write in haste and addled with fatigue and watching. I have got leave to sleep to-night and am going into bed; to-morrow I shall be on an out-post." A letter to Major Sirr from the judge two years previous to this, dated March 31st, 1801, seeking his co-operation with regard to extending mercy, if possible, to a certain convicted prisoner, remarks: "I have every reason to suppose

you a humane man.”—(“Sirr Papers,” T.C.D.)

Howley, who was executed for being concerned in the Insurrection, was discovered in a house at work with three or four other men. Dr. Madden states:—“The Major with his ordinary prudence put Hanlon forward to arrest a man known to be a most determined character, and the result of his discretion was Hanlon was shot by Howley.” Naturally, Dr. Madden expected his version would be accepted unquestioningly, and to do him justice, he does not contradict the material evidence that Howley fired a fatal shot.

According to the “State Trials,” on Major Sirr’s entrance Howley left his work and went to a recess, “he took up a coat,” said the Major, “and I pushed forward before a gentleman who entered with me, Captain Bloxham. I saw the man stoop and take up a pistol. The moment I saw that, I levelled and snapped at him but missed fire; and I retreated to settle my pistol and get another, and called for assistance. Soon after I saw Hanlon go up to the place which I had left. Two shots were fired. The second report I am convinced was from Hanlon’s pistol. I saw the position he was in, and instantly he turned upon his right side and fell down. I heard his report after the other. He died almost immediately. I called for further assistance. During this time the person ran away. Finnerty, who gave evidence here, was at work with that man.—Court: The man who ran away?—Yes, I called to Finnerty and to another person who was there, to approach me; they did so, and did not attempt to fly. After a great deal of confusion some of the Liberty Rangers, and of the 93rd Regiment, came and pursuit was made, and the prisoner was brought in by one of the Highlanders and one of the Liberty Rangers, in about a quarter of an hour; that was the prisoner now at the bar; he was wounded and was bleeding fresh in the left hand. The two men told me they found him concealed armed with a pistol.” “I examined it and it appeared as if fresh fired from. I found it re-loaded. I drew the charge and there was powder and ball in it.”

Much more than I have said, which would strongly tell against them, has been suggested by the notices of Major Sirr which I have dealt with. Call to discourse upon Major Sirr’s character Dr. Madden and Mr. Fitzpatrick had none than is discoverable, and since they claim to sit in judgment on his religious life they are not entitled to immunity from censure.

Had Major Sirr opposed O’Connell in 1831 he would not have been applauded by Dr. Madden. As, however, in common with other good loyalists, he appears to have supported the measures of reform Dr. Madden attributes it to interested motives, but what these were we are not told. It was optional for the Major to have resigned or to have retained the Town Majority as he held it by the King’s commission, and his magisterial office was perfectly secure. He was not anxious for titles of any kind: he was offered a baronetcy which he declined, and, though elected Sheriff of Dublin in 1807, he paid the fine of three hundred guineas, and was excused, and so became a Sheriff’s Peer. He naturally held the Castle view of the Repealer when immoderate language in public went against him in previous years; and one day, when walking in Dame Street, O’Connell overtook him and at once took his arm exclaiming somewhat boisterously “Here are the two most loyal men in His Majesty’s dominions.” Major Sirr was highly disgusted. He was just as in duty bound to be. He entered the hall before the proceedings commenced, when O’Connell delivered his maiden speech in the Exchange, in 1800, and demanded of the Chairman to be shown the resolutions; after perusing them he said “There is no harm in these,” and then withdrew. (“Life of O’Connell, MacDonagh.”) He possessed a good upright judgment, a clear unbiassed mind, and had powers sufficient to guide him on any subject or question.

Samuel Lover in a note (published 1858) to the poem “Reconciliation” relates, “A certain gallant Major, a stipendary magistrate, some thirty years ago was quizzed by the English press, for a bull he committed in an official report to

Government on the state of the South-Western provinces. He said the best proof of returning *tranquility* was, that the people had recommenced their *faction fights*. Now, a more expressive meaning lay beneath this apparent contradiction, as is frequently the case in that figure of speech entitled an Irish bull, for it was a fact, that whenever the peasantry were leagued in unlawful combinations against constituted authority they ceased to fight amongst themselves." Lover's note is very sound, but the expression commented upon was hardly an Irish bull.

A CORRECTION.

On pages 231-2, Vol. 1, of "The History of Irish Periodical Literature," 1867, Dr. Madden writes, "'In Pue's Occurrences' of February 22nd, 1770, we find in the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year, the name of Joseph Sirr, father of Major Henry Charles Sirr. A Mr. William Sirr, the grandfather of the last named Henry Charles Sirr, was the person who arrested Father Nicholas Sheehy, immediately after his trial and acquittal on a charge of murder. This William Sirr was a clerk in Sir John Fielding's office, in Dorset Street, in 1759. This Sirr transmitted the innocent priest to Clonmel, where he was condemned, hanged, and quartered, to the eternal obloquy of all those who were engaged in that judicial murder and their unfortunate descendants. Major H. C. Sirr's grandfather died in Rathfarnham, at a very advanced age."

Dr. Madden is incorrect and consequently misleading. Major H. C. Sirr's grandfather, Francis Sirr, West India and Silk Merchant, died in Westminster in 1735*, and, of course, he could have had nothing to do with Father Sheehy's arrest and execution in 1766. It might have been mentioned, however, that it was Joseph Sirr, Major H. C. Sirr's father, who relieved Sheehy from all restraint and held himself responsible for his appearance at the time appointed for the trial. So much Dr. Madden was bound to admit earlier in the "United Irishmen."†

*Register, Church of S. Clement, Danes. Will. P.G.C. (42 Derby).
†I have looked for a Sir John Fielding and a Mr. William Sirr in old Directories and Indexes, but have failed to find such persons, and I believe there never was an Irish *Knight* of the name. It is possible that both may be discovered on diligent search in the Irish Record Office. Even so, the mention of the persons has no relevancy to the subject of the notice in "Pue's Occurrences."

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I have also consulted (some of the authorities are mentioned in the text), Pelham Papers B.M.; Hardwicke Papers B.M.; Bishop Percy's MSS., B.M.; List of officers District Corps published by permission of the Lord Lieutenant, 1797; Cuttings from newspapers, Ireland, B.M.; The Oath of every Freeman of the City of Dublin, 1799, and the Oath of a Common Council-man, 1799; Dublin Evening Post, 19th Nov., 1796, *et seq.*; Saunderson's News Letter, 18th Oct., 9th Nov., 1799, *et seq.*; Wellington Supplementary Dispatches; State Papers, Record Tower, Dublin Castle, 1802-3-4-7; Memoirs of Holt, 1838; The Story of Two Noble Lives, Aug. Hare; Webb's Compendium of Irish Biography; The Church of S. Werburgh, Dublin, Hughes; Maxwell, Hist. of Irish Rebellion with Cruikshank's illustrations, 1845; Memorable Dublin Houses, 1890; Thorpe Porter, Gleanings and Reminiscences (in some respects contradicting Madden); Saunderson's News Letter, Jan. 8th and 9th, Morning Post, Jan. 11th, Times, Jan. 11th, 1841; Lecky, Leaders of Public Opinion, 1871; Seventy Years of Irish Life, Le Fanu; Whitelaw and Walsh, Hist. of Dublin, 1818; Recollections of Curran, Phillips, various editions; Life of Curran, by his

son; Life of O'Connell, MacDonagh; Major Sirr's Will, Public Record Office, Ireland; Hansard, Parliamentary Debates; Howell, State Trials; Litton Falkiner, Essays relating to Ireland.

RULES, FRENCH STREET ASSOCIATION.
JANUARY, 1797. (Sirr's Papers, T.C.D.)

That the gentlemen of this Association be extremely careful not to give, but endeavour as much as possible to prevent, any false or unnecessary alarm.

Not to discharge nor when they can prevent it, permit any firearms to be discharged at any time from half-an-hour after sunset until half-an-hour after sunrise.

If any apprehend he has just cause of alarm from any noise like breaking-in or attempting to break into any house or noise like the assembling or moving of any great or tumultuous body of people, he shall immediately light up at least a couple of candles in each window of his parlour or drawing-room next the street, and then endeavour as soon as possible to discover the foundation of his alarm, and if he is confirmed in it he shall then and not before discharge a gun or pistol, immediately upon which all the houses in the street shall be in like manner lighted up, and the gentlemen shall repair with their arms to the door of Colonel Mangin's house, No.— and if it is recommended in order to prevent delay that from the time it shall be certainly known that any body of hostile troops or persons are in arms in this Kingdom, every inhabitant in the street shall keep a lamp or candle lighting all night in his house and a sufficient number of candles prepared ready for lighting.

MSH # 20204

**END OF
TITLE**